1801 Schedule for Field Journey Assessment (Secondary)

Ch 14 • A • Ch 14

[P1.2] **1.** In this final outing of the fourth Term and History, a set of the Fourth Secondary may be found collecting their data from a full Wheatleyhurst area, by the Wheatley and Thorne, around Town, Wind Lane, Wheatleyhurst Lane, by the Wheatley and Thorne, around Town, Wind Lane, [illegible] Wheatley Road, as well as other parts by having collaborations between Wheatley Preserve, Wheatley Lane Valley, by their walks of their arrival and research to be a team assessing and assessing. Then the Wheatley Survey [illegible] by Wheatley, [illegible] which was completed there Wheatley Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve.

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[L.2] Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve.

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2 • Ch 14 • A • Ch 14

[L.3] **2.** The Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve, Wheatley Lane Lane Lane and Wheatley Lane Preserve.

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Ch

by

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] has been [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] to consult, conventional the employment by any gentleman of Dondo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact was made with these shy and elusive people, whose dominant interest and fear of the Europeans is quick to smile, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as hunters and trackers.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dondo are not alike and that some differ as widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was merely open the door to many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dondo by Mr. Bibby,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Boers and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dondo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dondo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Dalodigo* and the *Kinye-ledigat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dondo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Bibby to have been a scattered

[illegible]

[1] *A Fiveto and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Bibby (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Canal Hollis informs me that most Dondo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dondo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 96, n.) "Dóndo," *The Swahili, their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1927

[illegible] [1]

By the side of Gumbo and Ashby I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dialect.

[illegible]

The Bubaiga Dialects live entirely with the Bhasa. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A Bubaiga often owned thirteen, living at present with the Bhasa of the Bubga area. I take one of the largest herds in the northern part of the Bhasa Reserve. The Bubaiga tribes Bhasa maintain [10] and contends of the enough when they are prevented from living on thorough poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a Bubaiga Dialects into a Bhasa, in all points and purposes, and the lowest form and first subjective dialects for living among and dwelling in close proximity to cattle entered by other Dialects owners. The Bubaiga form [20] of language except Bhasa[1] will tell you that they are Bhasa [21] and are considered by the Bhasa to be the same as they are themselves. Here the fact it is interesting to note that the Bubaiga[2] are very often girls and the Bubaiga lives on assemblage of Bhasa, particularly if the Bubaiga possess no sisters. The reason for this is, I think, that the primitive Bhasa people have been trained to exchange to the girls have left their work. There is something favorable to the physiognomy of the Bubaiga, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men. [40]

In this connection it is of interest to note that Mr. Lloyd Dubbs, in an article in Blue (December 1916), mentions the fact that he once met some Bhasa-Dialects in the Bili Valley who did not speak Dialect (see p. 138 and other references right). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that [1] [14] [15]

Pressure, when relative to the cattle assembles that of the Dialects in the Bhasa, were all speak Dialects, though they formerly had a language of their own (which exists still somewhere). (see further that the women of the Dialects are practiced with those of cattle Dialects.—H. H.) [20]

[1] The one bordering the Kingani river, north-west of Dungera.

[2] Mr. H. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the Journal of the African Society, makes a passing reference to the Bubaiga, whom he considers to be entirely impoverished Bhasa. [14] [15]

[1] Bubaiga themselves, of course, a certain number of Bhasa in the Kibiti area speak this tongue, likewise many Dialects.

[illegible] possibly from Dundee but have seen Beast, who, having had their words, had taken to hunting, is probably the easiest way [illegible] Beast, who is hunting in question were Dalridge, though the Beast also needs to satisfy himself as to that very point.

The original Dalridge are stated to have come from the Grampian Mountains of the Beast. It may be that this is the case, as the name Grampian originally meant the [illegible] mountains, but, [illegible] the whole area occupied today by the Beast of Tungwaythe Territory. It is certain that there are no Dalridge Hounds with the Beast throughout the length and breadth of the Tungwaythe Beast Country, and it becomes more difficult daily to find Dalridge who will devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own Dals or are much guilty to this with their other hunting or with the Beast. The younger men have never had a Dalridge. [illegible] which appropriately, decidedly and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Beast.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the Europeans sportsmen, a few old men (Beast), to all outward seemingly, will make their appearance mysteriously, generally accompanied by Dalridge. During whatever proceedings they will proceed to rip and hack away large quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful alacrity which is far more with to the Beast. When the Dalridge have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, [illegible] presumably, for a banquet of Cooperstown proportions. Should one ask, they will inform [illegible] that they are Dalridge, but will always add:

"We are not Beast again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Beast and the Dalridge are one and the same. The opinions of the Beast [illegible] unwilling to admit the equality of others and the Dalridge themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the Dalridge are also

[illegible] Dalridge. Beast Language and Folklore, pp. xiv, xv. The name would seem to be extremely suitable, as the area [illegible] and one of exotic [illegible] animals. Cf. p. Kilimanjaro. G. R. G. S.

[illegible] The name would not seem to be an indigenous Dundee imagine.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[117] [illegible] who had a life of hunting. These people [illegible] and Yi-Meng. If my conclusions are not erroneous, [illegible] and nearly all the others have had very small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Shans and Yi-Meng respectively in all outward customs.

The Hsaweeli [illegible] are also rapidly becoming Shans, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to that cause. My opportunities for investigating the Hsaweeli of the northern areas [illegible] Lahutaw,[1] and round the northern end of Kyaut Gale have been extremely limited, but I should state that they are far less susceptible to Shan influence than are their brethren of Mongpa and Loi-kalawee. The Hsaweeli present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a distinct language and the very meagre information about them mentioned in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to give [illegible] very closely as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Shans, as are the Zalengs.

The Khamtis and Khamyens [illegible] of them to think over current events also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Shandu dealt with here.

Among the Shans Shans influence seems yearly and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Shans are willing to pay for Shans women; the fact that the Shans are always ready to employ the younger Shans men as lambi; the serious enforcement by Government of the Opium Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of Shan life by the Shans, who are busy but far from comfortable.

[114] I believe the Shans to have been very closely allied to the Shandi at one time. If they were not pure Shandi?[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a moot

[1] Hpawngwee Lahutaw. These Chinese are entirely distinct from the Kachin Lahutaw shown by Mr. F. J. Hopkinson [illegible] and [illegible].
[2] See Note: The Shandi, p. 6.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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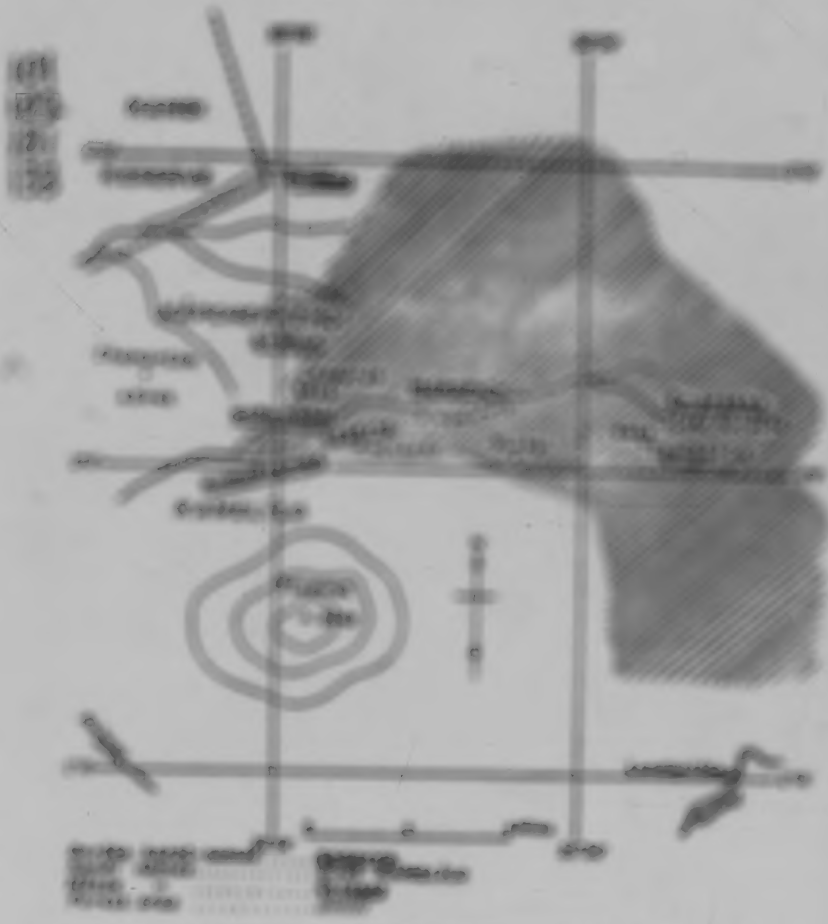

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[illegible]

The Social Institutions of the Dorobo

by [illegible]

Contents

I. Introduction
II. Kinship
  1. The First Kinship Generation
  2. The Second Kinship Generation
  3. The Third Kinship Generation
  4. Own Generation
  5. The First Descending Generation
  6. The Second Descending Generation
III. The Family and Household
  1. Family life
  2. The age-class system
  3. Initiation
IV. The Clan
V. Marriage
  1. Introduction
  2. Pre-marital events
  3. Marriage
  4. Rites
  5. Relations and Avoids
  6. Polygamy
  7. Levirate
  8. Marriage with Ogiek

I. Introduction[1]

The Dorobo are a hunting people, primitive, shy, and elusive, who live in small groups scattered over the high forest lands of Kenya Colony and parts of northern Tanganyika Territory. They all speak dialects of Nandi, the vocabularies being more or less close to Nandi according to their distance from the Nandi area, and many of their customs and institutions

[1] This account of the Dorobo is based upon field work done in the Trans Nzoia area between May 1948 and November 1949 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. A previous visit I had made in 1937 was still remembered, and in 1948 I had little difficulty in renewing my acquaintance with the people, to which I was greatly helped by one Ivong Sirong, my guide in 1937, whose name is mentioned several times in the following pages. To his tact and knowledge is due any measure of success that it may have achieved.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Leverhulme organization for making the work possible, and to various people, notably Professor A. M. Hocart-Kennedy and the late Dr. C. G. Seligman, for help and encouragement. I must also to express my thanks to Messrs. G. A. Cameron and R. J. C. Maconochie for their kindness to me when I was visiting the Dorobo in the neighbourhood of their farms.

The conditions described in the following pages are those which obtained up to the year 1939.

[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurureek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 %, were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 %, maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the hords in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is in contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*kwet* plur. *kwenet*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cyeptur[1]; 2. Kelpai; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkoreon; 5. Sogoiyo; 6. Metetitet; 7. Mokogor; 8. Purot; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpai, Kipkoreon, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Metetitet. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kirondinket* — the councillor)

[1] C ch in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

S:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Political Organization of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi
2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life
3. The Kiret
4. Crime and its Results
5. Religion and Magic
   a) Belief and Practice
   b) Analysis of Beliefs

1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Masai before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

[1] For the first part of this study, see Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 1-48.

[2] When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Moring used these words: *Ngot kepua tow Obiot kesy kumchuni Nandiek, kepua ak Ipkoopek*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisers for the Uasin Gishu Masai before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *kepua* is plural, and the apparent subject *Obiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realise its significance.

[p. 123]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have added on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kaporpkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandorobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumciser by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.

2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).

3. Some relationship terms.

4. The age-set system, and circumcision.

5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.

6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minio regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to
[886] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minio has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *korosuek* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
[224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [22].

[22] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

114

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

PRELIMINARY STUDIES OF THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.[1]

(The Lalwor, The Wanderobo, the Dolotho and the *Jie*; with a note concerning the Karamojong.)

(With Plates XVIII—XXVIII.)

By E. J. Wayland.

DJA 114

I.—Introduction.

The following information was gathered by me in Karamoja, a district of the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, which I visited for the purpose of geological reconnaissance. As there are no motor roads in this district (or were none when I was last there) the transport is porterage, local natives being employed for this purpose; thus one is constantly in close touch with the people, and so it becomes possible to study, in some measure, their ways of living and their attitude towards life. But in order to understand more completely the manner of folk with which one is dealing, it is necessary to study not only the men as one knows them in one's caravan, but some of the families of which each man is the head or a member, and the relation in which families stand one to another, and to the villages and the clans, or other subdivisions of the tribe, and to learn of the occupations, spiritual beliefs, temporal authority and all other factors to which the people, by the community of their culture, are accustomed to respond. It may be impossible to achieve this end completely; and certainly few facts of any value, other than those obtained by direct observation, can be gathered unless the people feel the observer to be not only just in his dealings with them, but generously disposed towards their modes of thought and their tenets of behaviour.

DJA [121]

Even so, long residence among the people and a profound knowledge of their tongue are necessary before one can hope to receive that measure of confidence which permits of unreserved disclosure of intimate and sacred things. Moreover, there are mysteries known only to the select few, who may not divulge the secrets for any cause or pretext whatsoever, save that rigidly prescribed by tribal authority.

In these circumstances it would seem almost futile for one unacquainted with the language of the people, and resident in their country for a few months only, to attempt the task of grasping the essentials of local culture; especially so if (as in my case) the observer is no ethnologist. But the inevitable change that comes with Administration, be it never so gently and cautiously applied, is just beginning to creep over the country. It will be many years before these people

DJA [177]

[1] Nomenclature adopted—Karamoja = the district detailed on p. 190. Karamojo = the southern part of Karamoja. Karamojong = the name of the tribe inhabiting Karamojo.

[104]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

DJA 114 [177]

become civilized, but there are signs that the Old is being extinguished by the New. Some tribal customs are being discouraged by Government, and a few are falling into disuse. It is of high importance therefore that some attempt should be made to record them before they are relegated to the limbo of the half-forgotten. Because of this, and because nobody seems to have made any real attempt to make such a record, the enquiries, of which the following is the result, have been undertaken.

DJA 123 124

Nobody can be more acutely aware than I am of the scrappiness of the information collected; great lacunæ remain to be filled in, and many new lines of enquiry opened up. There is reason to hope, however, that the statements regarding native affairs which appear below are not seriously incorrect, for every practicable attempt has been made to secure the truth.

[191]

The methods of investigation employed are those rightly discouraged by anthropologists; they are, however, the best that could be adopted in the circumstances. Information was obtained either direct or by interpretation, the language used being Kiswahili, for no English, or other European tongue, is understood by the natives. During recent years, a number of the Karamojan folk have picked up an ungrammatical form of Kiswahili from the troops (IVth King's African Rifles) whose duty it has been, and is, to protect them from Abyssinian and other raiders. I had two such men in my caravan and an official Karamojong-Kiswahili interpreter; the latter, an Acholi, proved almost useless for the purpose in view.

Conversations on matters of anthropological interest took place round the camp fire at night on many odd occasions, and at meetings especially arranged for the purpose. I regard such meetings convened with the object of extracting information as one of the least efficient ways of obtaining it, if the truth is required; but in the circumstances there seemed no reasonable alternative. Villages were visited, whenever practicable, and information obtained on the spot.

Largess (usually tobacco, sometimes money) was occasionally distributed, irrespective of whether the recipients had supplied information or not.

Every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the people, and in this matter I was fortunate enough to have made a good start before the enquiries commenced; for I had visited Karamojo on two previous occasions, once with my wife, at the beginning of 1920 (3 months) before the country was administered, and again by myself in 1925 (3 months).

Circumstances associated with the illness and death of one of my porters led to a disclosure relative to the nature of *Jok*, which would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, and which would probably not have been obtained at all had not my informants become aware of sympathetic understanding by my being the first to suggest the sacrifice to avert the hand of death, and to offer the means of performing it.

DJA [126]

Anthropometric data were collected whenever practicable. It was found necessary however, to limit them to cranial and nasal indices and to measurements of stature. In order to obtain the desired data it was found necessary to fee every individual measured.

SJA 122

Karamoja was entered by an unusual route—one which, as far as I know, had not been previously taken by Europeans. The village of Apala, in Lango, was reached by means of motor transport, and marches were made from there to the border of the country and through

/67 cont'd/

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wanderobo are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certainly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Keriita on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FLA Dorobo FLA

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000 **Further Notes on the El Dorobo or Ogglek.** *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Assoc.M.Inst.C.E.* 21

114 In Man, 1903, 17, a few notes on these elusive people were published. Since that time the writer has been fortunate to twice come into contact with members of the tribe in different parts of East Africa: once on the occasion of a visit to Eldama Ravine, and recently during a tour through the Laikipia Plateau west of Mount Kenia.

The author in 1891 visited Mount Kenia, and while encamped on the lower slopes encountered a few specimens of a bearded race of men who were said to live in the

10: Hobley G-S ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on tat mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east sie of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pēs swamp, and it was then elucidated the the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongiboro who lives near Nyeri Sta. She is married to one Sikirai, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler as features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hopes that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen tht some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masi because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost al their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to subsisting life. It therefre seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri peoplemay be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated wit the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that or opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a lit of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamilili or Tinderit	Kipsangtan.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkurusk.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pikabom.	Do. do.	Kamiek.
Oggiek in Eldam Ravine	Kakimengiriu.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Pēs swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Siniwek.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of EnasoNyiro	Lalariok.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chibcharwanek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong loi Marto, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongibore who is said to live near Nyeri or Kakerya in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalentsin the vocabulary.

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL12
Nandi FL13

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192
197

—	Dorobo of Tiddeney (E. Nandi).	Dorobo of Ravine.	Dorobo of Nandi (Doretti).	Nandi.	Masai.
Barrel cut	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Blanket	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Sheep	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bitter (sweet)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Butter	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bucks	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Spear	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stick	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stomach	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stool	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Supreme being	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Teeth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Thing	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tobacco	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
To-day	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
To-morrow	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tongue	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Topi antelope	—	[illegible]	—	—	—
Tree	[illegible]	[illegible] also [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tsetse	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wart-hog	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Water	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wind	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Woman	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Woman (old)	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Woman (young)	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Work	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yes	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Zebra	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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NOTE.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Neuman (the author of *Elephant Hunting in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dorobo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these hunters in some hills near the Ensso Nyiro, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mogogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dorobo of Masai.

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192

Mr. Neuman collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped at the outset of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but must confess that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Neuman's vocabulary of the language of the Mogogodo :—

Arrow	Lagh.	Child (of either sex)	Leyo.
Bad	Etiteri.	Boy	Kuti.
Bird	Legei.	Come	Yato.
Blood	Sogo.	Cooking pot	Duru.
Note.—In Lur language sogo means bone; in The-Leo bone is chogu.		Cow	Gwit.
		Dog	Kube.
Bone	Motobo.	Elephant	Sogomd.
Bow	Paba.	Father	Abasi.
Buffalo	Piba.	Fire	Iku.

II: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

captured, and commandeered as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the places where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the north were the ancestors of the *Baraga*, *Gekonyuki*, *Laitai*, and *Dumat* Masai. 173 614 698

Mr. Hollis spells these as follows:—Il-purko, Il-kak-oonyokie, 'L-oitai and Il-damat. [114]

Some generation later an invasion took place from the south. A people came from a district called Ruruguti in the direction of Nyanweni country; these people were like Masai and were under one Ndaraguto, the son of Ndaramuroni. They fought with the Masai from the north and vanquished them. Ndaraguto was a clever leader, however, and he collected his beaten adversaries and welded them with his own people into the Masai nation. Before that time the Wanyamweni occupied the whole of the Nandi-Lumbwa plateau but they were driven south by the great chief Ndaramuroni, or his son Ndaraguto. If this is true it might account for the remains of certain rude dams which are to be seen in some of the Nandi valleys; these were certainly not made by the Nandi, but probably by a people who understood irrigation.

The Kikuyu country was then unoccupied by that tribe, but was one of the great hunting grounds of the Dorobo, and contained many elephants, buffalo, wild pig, &c. In those days it is said the herds of buffalo far exceeded the present herds of cattle possessed by the Masai. The Kikuyu people migrated in from the south-east and gradually increased, cultivating shambas as they pushed north-west; one of the Kikuyu clans, the Mwizaga, came from as far south as Kilimanjaro—in fact, their name is possibly a corruption of Chaga. They are skilled at rain-making and other witchcraft, and are said to have some Masai blood in their veins. 174 [136]

On the Essanagishu or Uasin Gishu plateau, between Mount Elgon and Elgeyo, there are remains of a past race in the form of numerous ruined stone kraals, circular in shape. The Uasin Gishu people who formerly inhabited the plateau declare that they are the relics of a race called Mokwan (possibly the people were called Sirikwa, and the kraals Mokwan) who peopled that region previous to themselves. This is borne out by the legends of the Aggiek, who state that the people who inhabited that region before the Uasin Gishu were a long-haired people called Enjoe by the Kikuyu and Eberatta by the Masai. They were a pastoral tribe who had enormous herds of cattle with exceptionally long horns. They had far more cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, broken up by the Il-Purko, 'L-Aikipiak, and 'L-Oitai Masai, the branch of the Masai who entered from the north. According to Aggiek tradition they were not like other human beings, for when a child was born they bored a hole in its side; the wound healed but the hole remained, and they closed the hole with a wooden plug. When, however, they wanted to run they took out the plug. The form of circumcision practised by these people was to take off both knee caps in early youth. Be this as it may, the tradition of long hair and long-horned cattle possibly points to an offshoot of some Hamitic race from the north which made an unfortunate experiment of migration southwards. Such migration might turn out to be contemporaneous with the Hima invasion of Uganda. Soon after the destruction of this tribe by the Masai the looted cattle were nearly all swept off by cattle plague. 173 [174]

The Aggiek also have a curious tradition about a clever race of dwarfs called Mwalwal Chiana who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have averaged only 2 feet in stature.

They also tell that they heard from their forefathers, long before Europeans were actually seen up country, that a white race (called Muchungu) existed in the world. Doubtless news of the white man's advent was passed on up country, from tribe to tribe, long before he was seen inland.

C. W. HOBLEY.

14:Huntingford I-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P.183, A]

[P 185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality.

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show.

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA*, *eiyo*.

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA*, *mama*.

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo*, *BABA*, as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA*, *eiyo*. "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*puhot*, a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit*, i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya.

18: Merker--S25 C-5 (1895-ca. 908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6
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/386/ Appendix III.

Description and measurement of the bodies of 18 men (1)

M *142 182 D14 182

1. The relatively small number of men is explained by the fact that the records of 27 men were lost.

and 43 women. A. Physical description. B. Physical measurement.

A. Physical description.

For each individual the genealogy was given up to the grandparents. Where the lineage or the tribe of a person could not be given with absolute certainty, it is designated as "Masai" or "En dorobo."

The numbers accompanying the color designations refer to the corresponding numbers of the Broca color charts.

It should also be expressly pointed out here that the striking oblique-forward position of the upper medial incisors is a natural one, not artificial.

No. 1.

M *142 Ol oruñgoti, ♂, ca. 27 years old, a native of the steppe area Sogonoi. Lineage: El mamasita.

♂ El mamasita ♀ El ugumoi ♂ El bartimaro ♀ El masañgua

♂ ♀

♂ ol Oruñgoti.

Fat. Soft parts firm. Skin color: forehead and cheek dark-gray--reddish-brown (28), chest somewhat darker, back of hand dark brown (43), palm of hand gray-reddish-brown (somewhat lighter than 29), scrotum black-reddish-brown (27), nipple somewhat lighter.